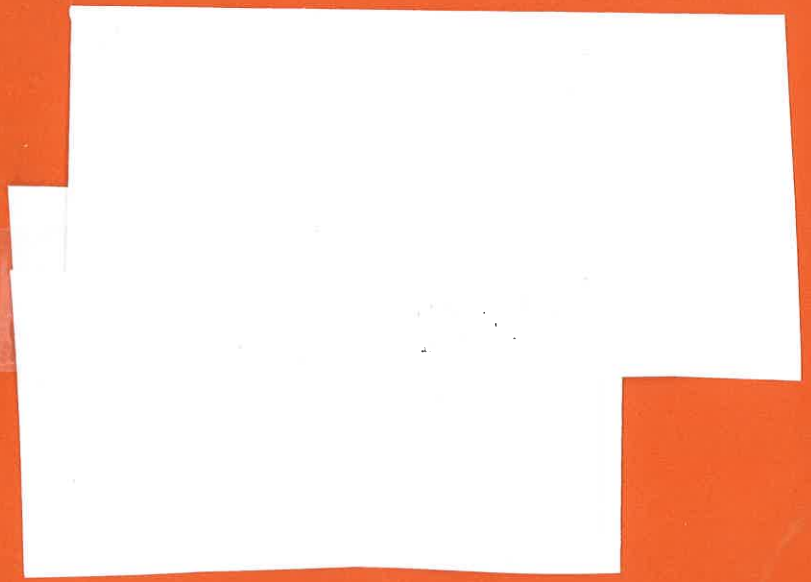
GOLWALKAR AND

CASTE-SYSTEM



SAMPRADAYIKTA VIRODHI COMMITTEE

GOLWALKAR

AND

CASTE-SYSTEM

Expose of an Obscurantist Outlook

SAMPRADAYIKTA VIRODHI COMMITTEE

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Publisher's Note

We are reproducing in this booklet an interview which the RSS chief, Mr M. S. Golwalkar, gave to a Marathi daily Nawakal. It brings out clearly the antediluvian and obscurantist outlook which guides the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh and thereby the Jana Sangh.

The interview provoked reaction among Maharashtrian intellectuals who strongly condemned the attitude of Mr Golwalkar. The viewpoint that he holds is contrary to the spirit of modern times. It is likely to harm not only the cause of national unity but also of Hinduism.

A perusal of the following pages, we are sure, will help readers to determine the role that organisations guided by Mr Golwalkar would play in our national life.

*A Hindu way of solving the Minority Problem**

SHRI Golwalkar Guruji, the *Sarsanghchalak* of the RSS, in a special interview to *Nawakal*, referred to the objection raised in Parliament to his appeal to all to embrace Hinduism. Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan called it 'an irresponsible statement'. Since a large number of Muslims and Christians were at one time Hindus, why should an appeal "to return to their 'home" be looked upon as irresponsible, the Guruji wondered. To call this statement irresponsible is itself an irresponsibility.

Asked about how the problem of the minorities in India could be solved, he said the minorities must identify themselves with national life and aspirations without claiming a separate entity in terms of number. Instead, the sense of separatism has been boosted up to such an extent that the demand for 'small pakistans' is not unlikely to be heard in every state. Political leaders have offered, for their own personal reasons, encouragement to all minorities and have openly subscribed to their supposed causes. This is a dangerous phenomenon. This problem can be solved only if the minorities merge themselves with the larger community and do not look for a separate identification for themselves.

NOT SHUDDHI (PURIFICATION) BUT CHANGE

This is why I call upon all minorities 'to embrace the Hindu fold'. Their ancestors were, by and large, Hindus, and if they return to their original religion, national integration will be easier than now. Now a days non-Hindus are accepted in the Hindu religion on the performance of *Shuddhi*. But since almost all non-Hindus were originally Hindus I do not call it purification. I use the word 'return'—a return to one's home.

**An interview with the RSS chief, Shri Golwalkar (published in NAWAKAL in its issues of January 1 and 2, 1969)*

Question: Do you believe that it is unnecessary to perform the *Shuddhi* ceremony when they are taken back into the Hindu fold?

Shri Guruji: Not only that purification ceremony is necessary, but that such ceremony should be directed towards the singular object of creating a feeling of rehabilitation in the minds of people who have returned to the Hindu fold.

Prayers as before

I would rather add that there is no objection to offering prayers on re-entering the Hindu fold, in the way in which one was doing it earlier. Once you accept that God exists, there are a number of ways of praying to Him and the Hindu religion has adopted many ways of offering prayers. There should, therefore, be no objection to an individual offering prayers in the way to which he is accustomed.

The prayers are necessary to promote identity and harmony among the people. These are very much absent today. Separatism and split are being encouraged by those who pose themselves as 'responsible persons'. I will cite one example. Take, for instance, the question of the Urdu language. Instead of accepting the national language of Bharat, an attempt is made for its recognition on a state level. Those who support this demand are politicians. In Turkey the language is Turkish, in Persia Persian and in Arabia it is Arabic language. In short, there should be no separatism nor should it be allowed in any way. Of course, there is no question of Urdu being recognised as a state language. I would go further and say that minorities create separatism, when they look upon Rustom as an ideal. Rustom did not belong to this country, nor was he a Muslim. Since he did not belong to our country he should not be looked upon as a 'national hero'. Instead of Rustom, Ramchandra should be looked upon as our ideal. We should look upon persons of our country as our ideal and we must start right from here in order to maintain harmony. I have purposely cited this instance to make the understanding of the term 'complete harmony' clear. No room should be left for disharmony to arise.

Importance of Hinduism

The discussion switched over to 'religious customs'. The question was: 'Science is developing very fast and is engulfing the whole self of a person'. Is it not necessary that religious customs should also change so that they do not stand in each other's way?

Shri Guruji: Customs go on changing at all times. And especially those which are born of social causes change automatically. But we should not mix religion with customs. Religion is fundamental, while customs are transitory.

Question: You have said elsewhere that 'science has made mincemeat of Christianity'. Will not this statement give a stunning blow to Hinduism also?

Shri Guruji: No, and herein lies the greatness of Hinduism. Science has thrown the very principle of Christianity to the winds but, as far as Hinduism is concerned, it has proved the veracity of Hindu philosophy. For example, that the world is spherical has long been written in our religious scriptures. It is described as having without a beginning and an end. Does not the science which has made possible for man to go to the moon come to the same conclusion that the universe is 'round without a break'? The same is the case with this universe too. 'What exists in a tiny body exists in the comic world' —has been one of the tenets of Hinduism which today's scientific achievement has only corroborated. And Einstein, a great scientist of this age, has stated that there is a transcendental power, call it God or not, which is the cause of this world. It has no beginning and no end and is beyond all laws. Was he not convinced of this principle, while trying to understand the mystery of the universe on the basis of science? The Hindu religious scripture has the most rational explanation of the mystery of the universe. It is not, therefore, right to assume that science will give a shattering blow to Hinduism, nor are changes in the Hindu religion necessary to keep in line with the rational thinking and attitude that science has so widely brought about.

Customs should not be changed by force

Question: Is it not necessary to dispense with those customs which are being elbowed out by the wide prevalence of

rational attitude that science has brought about and in which people have no faith ?

Having repeated his statement that 'religious customs change automatically' and that such change is inevitable, the Guruji added, it is neither necessary nor it is wise to try to change religious customs by force. What is necessary is to explain how the philosophy of our ancient Hindu religion is not in conflict with science. This should be done by the high priests. They should move about everywhere explaining how, in the light of modern science, the religion propounded in *Shruti* and *Smriti* is unchangeable.

Why worry about customs ? They are bound to change in accordance with the time. When attempt is made to change them by violent means, the old traditions will also be hit and the damage would be immense. Customs should change without any damage being caused. It is, therefore, necessary to strengthen the social mores together with explaining the unchangeability of the fundamental philosophy of religion in terms of today's aspirations and achievements.

The four varna system and the Shankaracharya

Question: Don't you think that the four *Varna* system in Hinduism should be changed ?

Shri Guruji: Have you in mind the article the Shankaracharya wrote in the magazine *Kalyan* which became an issue of debate in Parliament ?

"Yes."

Shri Guruji: Those questions and answers in Parliament were based entirely on ignorance. It appears to me that the questioner did not read the article and if he had read it he had not understood it. The man who answered the question also must not have read it either or had not understood it.

Even western experts are now inclined to think that their life, which was based on continuous competition, is not conducive to overall contentment. As long as unequal competition persists, contentment is impossible, irrespective of the degree of material progress. Competition has to be replaced with a system in which cooperation flows freely in every field of human

endeavour. The four-*varna* system in our religion is nothing but a cooperative method. The 'guild' in the modern language and 'caste' in the old language are synonymous in this respect.

Varna through birth

Question: Does not this ascriptive system suffer from a serious defect of being accidental on birth ? Do you not think it patently absurd to judge a person by birth, irrespective of what he achieves in life ?

Shri Guruji: There is nothing wrong in the four-*varna* system being based on birth. But it should be flexible, and flexible it really was, and granted the flexibility, the four-*varna* system based on birth is right.

Question: But does it not mean injustice, depriving him of his right to follow the dictates of his conscience and to work according to what he likes ?

Shri Guruji: "The yoga of non-attachment" (*anasakti* yoga) is a fundamental concept of our religion. Gandhiji also had practised this idea whole-heartedly. *Once you accept that a man should do his Karma without having his eyes set on the fruits of his action, there is no earthly reason why he should leave his Karma to his free will.* This system is in the larger interest of society.

What do we find in the army ? Does the soldier choose his work according to his liking ? He obeys the orders of his General. Indeed, a soldier may aspire to be a General and may think that he is quite equal to the job and yet he may remain a soldier all his life. This well-knit system of organisation protects the country. For a rule-based social system, the four-*Varna* concept based on the renunciation of the fruits of action is essential, provided, of course, that the same flexibility exists as it was there before.

No dogmatism

Question: If Hinduism is not dogmatic, then why should it not change ?

Shri Guruji: Hinduism is not dogmatic in the sense that there is no dogmatism about traditions and customs. It is not dogmatism even in relation to the manifestations of the God

and the system of prayers ! Hinduism accomodates any number of gods and adopts almost any kind of worship. But how can one accept changes in the fundamental principles of religion ? The existence of four *varnas* is available in architecture also. The four *varnas* of stones, when put together, make the structure extremely strong. Among birds and beasts and everywhere else in nature four *varnas* are found to exist. It is stated in the article in the *Kalyan* that there are four *varnas* in cats and dogs too. But this statement was distorted and was attacked saying that it treated the Sudras also as cats and dogs.

The four varna system is divine

Question : But what is this four *varna* system, a custom or a religion ?

Shri Guruji : It is not a custom, it is a fundamental part of religion. The *Shruti* and the *Smriti* are both creations of God and so also is the four *varna* system propounded in them.

Because it is God's creation, we do not mind if it is done away with. for it will make its reappearance in some other form, being God's creation.

Question : A nation cannot live without science and science promotes rational attitudes and beliefs. But a large part of religion is based on faith which has to be replaced by reason.

Shri Guruji : Rationalism is no doubt necessary for science. But to assume that there is no reason in religion is wrong. That Hindu religion is quite rational is evident from the *Bhagwad Geeta* which calls upon all to 'surrender unto reason.'

In accordance with quality and action

Referring to the four *varna* system again, I asked : Was not this four *varna* system originally based on 'quality of individual action' that later came to be based on birth ?

Shri Guruji said it is true that it was originally in accordance with quality and action, but to interpret quality as 'ability' and *karma* as '*karma* accepted to one's liking' is wrong. Quality means *Sattva* (Righteousness), *Raja* (wrath) and *Tama* (darkness). And *Karma means Karma in the past life*. I have recently come across an article which states that *varna* can be changed in this life in accordance with the *Karma* in this life, and in view of the flexibility of the four *varna* system there is nothing wrong in this system. You might well ask "What guarantee is there that this meaning is correct ?" My answer is, if you once accept the theory of "Re-birth and Re-birth according to *karma*" this meaning follows inevitably.

Problem of harijans

Shri M.S. Golwalkar, the Sarsanghchalak of the RSS, referring to the problem of the Harijans said : The problem of the Harijan has been extremely difficult. Of course, it is on its way to solution, but the earlier it is solved the better. The beating of drums of a 'campaign for the removal of untouchability' will hardly help its removal. On the contrary, it will lead to a strife (*Sangharsh*); and much ill-feeling will be created which, instead of achieving the objective, will make the problem more difficult of its solution.

We have, therefore, to invent a very *simple ritual to turn an untouchable into a touchable*. Once this ritual is prescribed by the high priests of religion and is accepted, much of the opposition can be overcome.

How simple will this ritual be, do you think ?

It would be as simple as wearing a necklace and offering a salutation.

Question : When will this step be taken ?

Shri Guruji : It will be taken very early. I am trying my very best for it.

The Guruji said, effort must be made for the welfare of the Harijans. When a member of our family takes ill, do we not bear all sorts of hardships and do whatever we can for him ? The same reason applies here too. The welfare of the Harijans should be considered by all others as the situation of having a member of their family taken ill and all the other members prepared to undergo whatever sacrifices that may be necessary on this account.

Cow killing

Question : You have said before that religion like science is national. But reason tells us that the cow is a useful animal, while religion asserts that the cow is 'mother cow'.

Shri Guruji : To call cow 'mother cow' is also rational. See! The one who gives us milk for 8 to 10 months is looked upon as a mother; why not then look upon the cow, who gives us milk all our life, as 'mother cow' ?

Afterthought of the westerners

In the United States where science has made spectacular advance the experts are gradually coming round to the view that artificial manures rob the soil of its fertility. The American agricultural scientists are of opinion that the cow-dung and the leaves constitute an extremely rich manure. These manures raise production without robbing the soil of its fertility.

In Japan, too, oxen are considered better than tractors. The ox is useful even after death and is used in a variety of ways.

In our country, I remember Shri Godbole of Aarey having said that cow's milk is cheaper than any other milk. The cow has other qualities. She is 'mother cow' besides every thing else. When the westerners are coming round to the view, what is the fun in following them, instead of making them follow us ?

It is not the dry cows that are killed.

Question : When the cow goes dry it is no more economical to maintain. It will not be possible to kill her, once you call her 'mother cow'. What of that ?

Shri Guruji : Please remember first that the cows that are killed are not dry ones. Moreover, dry cows are not a burden, because of other uses to which they can be put. This is a very siginificant point. It is the calves that are killed for their intestines and the fat cows for their flesh.

Killing of cows continues even at places where it is prohibited. Cow killing was banned in princely states in old times.

It was found at that time that where killing of cows was permissible the proportion of dry cows was 7½% while it was only ½% where there was a ban.

An ex-judge of the Supreme court was surprised to know this fact. It is not the dry cows that are killed. It must be accepted that it is the milching cows that are killed.

The mathas of the Shankaracharya

Question : In view of what the priests should do, don't you think what the Shankaracharya is doing is not equal to the dignity of the office he holds?

Shri Guruji : No organisation remains good for all the times. It is good that the monasteries of Shankaracharya which were established some 1200 years ago continues till now. They have done good work for a thousand years.

For the Jyotirmath, there was no Shankaracharya for the last 150 years. The seat remained vacant. That is why I said that 'they did good work for a thousand years.'

Question : What exactly should Shankaracharyas do?

Shri Guruji : They should propagate the sentiments of pure nationalism, which is part and parcel of good conduct and religion. They should propagate the fundamental philosophy of our religion from the view point of modern science. They should show how science and religion can go together without getting into each other's way. They should do this propaganda, give sermons and move through the four corners of the country. It will help to hold the fabric of society in an excellent healthy state.

The blunder committed by Brahmins

Question : How do you think should the principle of 'equal opportunities for all' be implemented ?

Shri Guruji : It should be first borne in mind that equal opportunity is not confined only to availability of jobs. Under the British rule, most Brahmins craved for official favour and ran after jobs and titles. The Brahmins who should have guided the society and should have led a life of austerity, sought to bask in the sunshine of official patronage, and with all that they did, they dealt a severe blow to society.

Everybody should do his work and do it better with education. The son of a farmer gets education and as soon as he completes it he leaves his occupation and runs after a job. This is a loss to the country. That education is poor education which aims at providing only food for the belly ; it must help him in his occupation and everybody must get an equal opportunity for such an education.

Asked about the common civil code for all, the guruji said, good things must be propagated in society through education and without much interference. From this angle education has a great task before it, Of course, civil code will prove useful for recognising common good qualities by law. But 'recognition' rather than 'force' should dominate.

Second big shock

Just as the Brahmins gave a big jolt by running after jobs under the British rule, so did the soldiers do during the period of freedom movement. After the achievement of freedom, they had acquired esteem in the eyes of the people for their sacrifices. But these people again gave a big jolt to the society as liberals. Though they did not participate in the Satyagraha movement, they were fit to rule. Power should have been put in their hands. But those who went to jail for the cause of freedom and participated in Satyagraha assumed power. Whatever prestige they acquired was lost as they ran for their own interest and well-being. They jeopardised the stability of the society.

Ministers must be like Madhavacharya

The ministers must actually lead a very simple life. Of course, there will be expenses of guests but like Gandhiji they should live in huts. That has been our tradition. Take for instance, Madhavacharya of Vijayanagar or Arya Chanakya. They lived like Fakirs. Madhavacharya lived in a hut in jungle and never took the threat to his life seriously. Our ministers, on the other hand, have led and are leading an affluent life. They live in great pomp, with poverty all around. All this has adversely affected the society, and peoples' morale.

Problems of the Naxalites

Question : Are calamities like Naxalbari the result of these economic inequalities ?

Shri Guruji : The leaders who are responsible for these calamities are themselves living in affluence. The revolts in Telangana or in Naxalbari are revolts of people in affluent circumstances. Take the example of Narayana, who has good income, or for that matter, Namboodiripad whose economic condition is quite sound. The Naxalites are themselves not in bad circumstances either; nor do they run to help people oppressed by poverty. Floods in Bengal and Bihar have caused misery to the people. Where were these people at that time ? On the other hand, it was our brigade which was the first to run to their succour from Siliguri. The Marwari Society and the Kashi Vishwanath Seva Samiti were with them. The Government was the last to go there. But if it was the sympathy for the poor that urged the Naxalites, where were they ? Many similar instances can be quoted.

Question : Whatever the nature of these people, will not their call reach the heart of the oppressed ? So what is the way to oppose the campaign of the Naxalites ?

Shri Guruji : To propagate true nationalism amongst all is the first remedy. This must have top priority. It will result in harmony and there would be no room for hatred. At the same time inequality must not be allowed to be grown to the height it has grown. Inequality within certain limit is bound to remain. But nobody can tolerate a situation in which one grows to be a millionaire and other becomes a pauper. One individual may be earning a lakh of rupees while the other may earn only 25,000; that much inequality may be accepted as inevitable. The gap of inequality must not be allowed to widen.

While dwelling on nationalism, defence readiness with modern armaments including atom bombs, the faith of Hindus in their religion and loyalty to the nation of peoples of all religions as Indians, he added that the minorities should be called upon to merge their rights and privileges with those of others. If they ask for separate rights and privileges it will lead only to disintegration and will weaken the nation. Political

leaders are heading for this disintegration in demanding a separate place for minorities. He observed that preserving the peculiarities of particular tribe or a particular religion is equally dangerous. The peculiarity of Hyderabad or for that matter of Goa, or that of the tribals—what is the meaning of all this ? Will not this increase bitterness of feelings and competition by deliberately creating separatism ? I hope they will not go to the extent of preserving the peculiar weakness of weakling too.

A Kashmere shall cannot be made by stitching together cloth of fifty varieties. That may give a crude rug at the most. India will be able to become an integrated nation with its diverse people being brought together in a spirit of love and goodwill without any feeling of one being separate from another.

A Seed of Disintegration

In its issue of January 26, 1969, *Sadhana*, a Bombay weekly, editorially wrote:

The special interview of RSS chief to *Nawakal* will be called unfortunate. He has propagated *Karmavipak* (Actions) and *Varnadharma* (Four Sectarian) concept of religion as a solution to the problem of integration. If small kids, who will be the citizens of tomorrow, are fed with the views of Golwalkar, it will spell disaster for the Republic of India. To insist on assuming *Karma* or profession on the basis of caste or sectarian concept, as Golwalkar does, is to encourage disintegration of the country and to destroy the element of national pride that is essential for national integration.

The citizens of Poona have reacted adversely to views of Golwalkar in a meeting. The intelligentsia of Poona have laid bare the dangers inherent in the doctrine sponsored by Mr Golwalkar. Integration cannot be brought about through steamroller process of making all the people Hindu.

Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad and leaders of Jana Sangh should express their views and reactions to this. They should publicly denounce the views of Guruji if they do not subscribe to them. They have a duty to tell the nation that no national cause will be served by these views, except creating

disharmony and conflict. The parents who send their children to RSS under the belief that it is a well-organised cultural movement, should now seriously consider whether it will be in the best interest of their children to be subjected to such regimentation of extreme fanaticism.

The result of frequent expression of these views can only be in disintegration and disruption of the entire nation. How will the sectarian concept be able to integrate the country is not known, when it is impossible to apply this concept, for the conditions of society in which the concept could work no longner exist. Thousands of backwards, harijans, scheduled castes and tribes will be forced to tread the path of Nagas and Mizos, if sectarian concept is forcibly applied in today's conditions. It will destroy the basis of democracy and also socialism, which seeks to banish exploitation of the poor by the rich. The Sectarian concept will not allow the nation to defend itself.

We have for long cherished in our hearts certain human values that all men are equal and that they are judged by what they do and not by the caste in which they are born. Leaders like Raja Rammohan Roy and Maharshi Karve have continuously worked for the promotion of these values which the sectarian concept now seeks to undermine.

Every one should resolve on this Republic day that it will be his sacred duty to impress upon the public mind that this concept will be harmful and fatal to the interest of the country. The Republic will not be stronger unless such doctrines which are aimed at taking the nation back to the ages of the sectarian philosophy are banished.

In its issue of February 6, 1969 *Kesari* commented : Guruji has described his organisational plan for integration of the Hindu Society. If his interview along with later clarifications is read together, no satisfactory explanation is available about his attempt to apply a concept when relevance of it, if any ever existed, does no longer exist.

Let us take for example, his idea of removal of untouchability through a simple ceremony. He says he does not agree that such a simple ceremony is necessary only because some are untouchables. He says there is no touchability or untouchability in Sangh. If there is no such thing in RSS,

why then does he want a simple ceremony to turn untouchables into touchables? Why a ceremony is at all needed if it sows the seed of bitterness and hesitation in the minds of harijans and make them believe that with this they rise in social status scale. If it is for repentance, those who are mentally obsessed with untouchability should repent of having committed a sin and not the so-called 'untouchables'.

He clarifies that *Smriti* is not God's creation. Even if we accept his clarification, the question remains as to whether *Smriti*-sponsored society was static or prone to changes? He argues that the frequent changes in *Smriti* were due to changes in traditions of society with moving times. But he insists, in his own reason, that the traditional concept should not be destroyed. His conviction of sectarian society seems to be firm. What does he mean when he says 'Religion according to sectarian concept!'

In clarification he adds that his discussion in the special interview is based on classics. Would it not be better for him to name the classics on which he put forward his stance? There can be no real debate unless he names his classics.

He is tempted to speak in languages of modern sciences. But the modern sciences he talks about nowhere corroborated the concept that actions in the past life decide the *varna* in this birth. None of the physical sciences has even recognised the theory of reincarnation. It is an obscurantist attempt to propagate the old theories of reincarnation, birth-bestowed castes or sectarian concept in the language of modern sciences, drawing imaginary support from them, with a view to convince others. It only depicts the hollowness of the arguments.

It is regrettable that RSS chief Mr Golwalkar should sponsor doctrine of sectarian society based on ascription and not on achievement. That he should call this system as devine creation is beyond comprehension. The Organisation which claim to be attempting to build up homogeneous and integrated Hindu society, should propagate this doctrine in the deliberate ignorance of bringing about integration is all the more disappointing. Instead of bringing about integration it will disrupt the society.

If only birth had decided the jobs of the people, the nation would have been deprived of the brilliant services of Mr Ambedkar, the constitutional expert. The cry of the age is that everyone should get an equal opportunity for the development of his whole being. Only this can keep the present society on the path of progress.

Mr Vasantrao Dada Patil, President,
Maharashtra P. C. C.

No one who loves democracy and progress will agree with the doctrine of Mr M.S. Golwalker.

The congress workers should oppose not Mr Golwalkar as a person but his doctrine. They need not take out protest marches but hold meetings to impress upon the public the adverse and harmful effects of his doctrine.

Though Guruji does not participate in active politics, his views will influence one political party. If his views are accepted without any protest being made by RSS leaders, it will be a terrible national calamity.

The socialism, which aims at abolition of exploitation with equal opportunity being given to all, will also be lost. Though I do not agree with a single word of Guruji, I cannot deny him the right to say it.

Mr R.S. Gawai, leader of Republican Party and Deputy Speaker of Maharashtra State Legislative Assembly.

Guruji Golwalkar has given a terrible shock by supporting the sectarian concept. Through him the reactionary forces have challanged the constitution, national integity and the progressive views. Our party is prepared for the challange.

He says "Guruji had given this interview knowing fully well what effect it would have. Reading through it, one feels that the supporters of RSS movements are in high ranks in defence forces. There is a possibility of a planned conspiracy for seizing the power through the defence personnels by creating chaos in RSS strongholds of North India, that is, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Punjab. All the progressives will have to take note of such a possibility.

The Government has declared its resolution of creating equalities during Gandhi Centenary. The interview of Golwalkar is aimed against this resolution of the Government as also to the views expressed by Shri Shankaracharya in

Kalyan Magazine. Why should they not be arrested and prosecuted by the Government under the untouchability act?

MAN IS MUCH GREATETR THAN SYSTEM

V. M. Dandekar.

GURUJI has called upon all the minorities to return to Hinduism. He thinks that their return to Hinduism may make the process of integration smooth. He says that the most of non-Hindus in India were originally Hindus. Therefore, he would not call their return as conversion. He prefers using the term a change or return to their homes. A conversion ceremony may be necessary only with a view to creating an emotional atmosphere or psychological feeling in their mind that they have returned to Hinduism. They may continue to worship the God according to their practice or traditions even after their return to Hinduism. Hinduism is not rigid on forms of God or methods of worships since it has a several thousand Gods and several methods of worship.

It is necessary to avoid the confusion about religion and religious rites for a clear understanding of the liberalism of Hindu religion. The traditions and customs change only with the times. But they can not perforce be changed. The customs should be changed without adversely affecting the basic tenets of the religion. The fundamentals of the religious philosophy can not be changed since they are essential ingredients of social stability. Insofar as Hinduism is concerned, the religion enshrined in the *Shruti-Smriti* is eternal and elemental. The modern science has proved it. That universe is circular and has neither beginning nor end; that the life in the universe is governed by certain laws and regulations; and that what is in nucleus is also found in the totality; that the world is existing because of some divine will, call them whatever you like, — all these beliefs enshrined in Hindu religion have now been proved by the modern sciences. What modern science achieves today is already known to have been possible to achieve. It is because of this, the modern sciences and the technological development will not rock the foundations of Hinduism nor will there be any need for a change in the basic concepts of the religion to make room for the scientific truth.

What is, however, necessary to realise is the relationship between Hindu philosophy and modern sciences to project the eternal elements of Hinduism enshrined in *Shruti-Smriti* in the language of modern sciences. Only this will stabilise the social structure.

To prove the eternal elements of Hindu philosophy, as stated in *Shruti-Smriti*, on the strength of sciences, Guruji has given a fine example in his interview. In reply to a question whether a change was necessary in four sectarian structure of Hindu society, he says *Shruti-Smriti* is a divine creation and therefore sectarian concept of the society also is creation of the God. Hence, the concept is not a custom or tradition which are subject to change with the times, but it is a basic part of religion which is unchangeable. He firmly believes that even if the God-created concept goes down in modern times, it will reappear in the system of society and continue to exercise the same influence as before, because it is the Divine will.

Let us see whether it is possible to prove the four sectarian concept as divine creation with the help of modern sciences. Guruji claims that even western scientists have come to conclude that it will not be possible for men to gain happiness inspite of the progress thus far achieved, as long as life continues to be competitive. In order to be happy man must learn to cooperate with each other, instead of carrying on ceaseless competition. The sectarian concept is based on the principles of cooperation. The guilds of modern times are the new names or equivalents of ancient caste system of India.

In the sphere of architecture also, the sectarian concept is also found to operate. If the four stones are put together in masonary work it makes the construction solid.

In the field of biology too, the four sects are found and also in everything else. How many proofs are required to demonstrate that the four sectarian concept exists? To Guruji's own array of the evidences, one may add yet another simple evidence of the mother cow having four nipples. This alone would have lent enough strength to his contention that the four sectarian concept is divine creation and hence eternal.

Guruji believes that the sect in which one is born is determined by his actions or deeds. The sect bestowed on birth depends on *karma* or actions of his past life. The sect in which

one will be born will depend on *karma* or action in his present life. This is the meaning of qualitative actions according to him. Here the quality does not mean one's merit or actions in assuming a profession of ones own liking, but knowledge, activity and nonchalance. The profession one assumes is a birth-bestowed duty for him. Here there is no scope for merits or for choice of job. It is thrusted upon him as a birth-bestowed process, according to his sect or varna.

It is also a fundamental principle of Hinduism not to expect the fruits of one's work. If this is accepted, there remains no scope for merits or fitness of any person. He believes that birth-bestowed caste system is necessary to build up a discipline-bound society and to ensure its progress. There is nothing wrong in it. Those who believe that the reincarnation is dependent on *karma* in last incarnation and thus to work without expectations of fruits as fundamental elements of Hinduism, should not find it hard to accept this logic of Guruji.

But there are people who have not accepted these fundamentals, and doubt that such concepts are fundamental. They believe that these elements, instead of making room for social progress or individual development, retard social stability and individual progress. They argue that God never intended that people should be divided against themselves. They contend that it is a deliberate way of keeping certain sections of the community weaker so that rich section of the community could rule over them and make them their slaves. The concept was a creation of the wealthy class to perpetuate their own progress at the cost of the entire society. Hardly a suitable answer is ever possible to this argument.

Guruji says most of the non-Hindus of India were originally Hindus and he wants them to return to Hinduism. But before such a call is given, is it not necessary to reflect as to why they did give up Hinduism ? There may be very strong reasons for changing their religion. Many of them might have been driven out of their religion by the snobbish Hindu Pundits for reasons which appear to be silly. The atrocities committed by the non-Hindu rulers and the absence of religious sanction for proper rehabilitation may have driven out many others. Is it not a fact that vast majority of Hindus, laden with the

sectarian concept, had no hopes of ever seeing the path of progress during their life time ? The sectarian concept was found to be inimical to progress and that this concept, among others, was in large measure responsible for our backwardness. Is the caste system not one of the main reasons for large exodus of Hindus to other religions ? Have not many thousands changed ever to other religion because they could not get away from centuries-old slavery laden upon them ?

On the one hand, he claims that the caste system is divine creation hence it is eternal, and on the other he calls upon others to return to Hinduism ! Where is the place for new entrants in the caste-bound Hindu Society ? If you have to provide a separate place for them in the society, then why talk of integration at all ?

One would not like to be drawn to the discussion with Guruji on a place for new entrants in Hindu society because of obvious difficulty to do so on grounds of principles or on grounds of political feasibility. The fundamentals of the Hinduism may also be left untouched for the time being. Fortunately Hindu religion has not given the right of deciding what is fundamental and what is not to any single individual or any institution. We are deeply concerned with Guruji's attempt towards the revival or the birth-bestowed caste system which the Hindus have started discarding, as being incompatible with their individual and social aspirations.

Guruji is a skillful organiser. He loves Hindu religion and is interested in the healthy growth of his religion in a traditional way. His base of organisation is with the youth movement and not with the traditional currents in Hinduism. One can legitimately be suspicious of his move. Will Hindu society really gain strength and stability if it is based on four sectarian concept ? If what he stated in his interview is really what he thinks, then it is nothing short of a mental perversion. Perhaps his association with Shankaracharya of Goverdhanpeeth puri, who is trading in politics from his traditional seat of learning and worship, has encouraged him in this adventure of preaching obscurantism.

In the interview, one finds two signs, though not very clear, of how his mind has been working. Many may not agree with his suggestion for removal of untouchability. It is a matter

of details. But it is not enough surprising to see Guruji propagating birth-bestowed caste system, and conceding at the same time that untouchability should be banished ? Is it not like speaking through hat or how else could one preach self contradictory things ?

The social issues can best be solved on the basis on human approach and not through any dogma, religious or otherwise. A dogma can not in any event be greater than man. The man is much greater than anything else. It is his well-being and aspiration for a richer and fuller life that determines a system, custom and everything else. Anything that does not conform to his need is discarded. The volunteers and workers of caste bound concepts will harm the strength and health of Hindu society. It will also harm the RSS movement. They should appeal to Guruji to retrace his stand.

COURTESY : MAHARASHTRA TIMES

WHERE RELIGION IS USED TO PERPETUATE CONFLICT

D.K. Vedekar

WHAT seems to have worked up Guruji's enthusiasm to go all out with his thesis that the basic element of Hindu religion is scientifically borne out is the unquestionable supremacy of science in this age. The youth are drawn more towards the scientific truth and are prone to be influenced by it than the religious reliefs which they now hold half-heartedly. A belief would not be acceptable merely because of its being religious. In order to be widely acceptable, it should have the stamp of being scientifically brone out. Guruji was trying to provide this stamp when he said the Hindu religion, unlike other religions, had been in agreement with scientific truth and that it is unchangeable, come what may.

He adheres to the sectarian concept (meaning the *varna* system) on the belief that it is the divine part of the religion and that the rationality of such a concept in this age can be found through cooperation. Here he obviously suffers from his misconceived nation of cooperation. Cooperation can never exist as long as it is not voluntary. And it can not be voluntary as long as it is based on inequality. The assumption of

sectarian concept means that one *varna* or sect is superior to the other or for that matter they are not by any means equals. How can there be cooperation between the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited? Guruji's attempt to discover a base of cooperation in this area is to end in futility.

The cooperation, as has been claimed to have existed before, was not cooperation, but compulsion. It was a forcible exploitation of the low caste people by the high caste people who had economic power in their hands and religious sanction behind them. If the people did not revolt against this system so long, it was because of their economic incapacity and lack of organisation. Can there be any blockhead who would consider this system as having ever run on cooperation?

So the exploitation went on and the exploiters who grew stronger made every effort to maintain this on the pretext that it was eternal and hence unchangeable.

Guruji's call to non-Hindus to return to Hinduism is absurd and impracticable. It only seeks to perpetuate a new wave of conflict and for a person like him, who is busy in interpreting Hinduism in the way that suits him most, this might serve his purpose well. What we know about religion is totally different from what he feels about it. Religion is a faith in the divine, and hence it is close to everybody's heart. We do not treat it as an instrument, as he does for reasons of his own, to organise people to gain power, to encroach upon what should normally be the individual liberties. A man going to a temple for the purpose of worship need not do physical exercises and if he does that his purpose is certainly other than worship. Guruji's religious faith is somewhere else than in religion and it seems that he wants to channelise this faith into a political force: the ultimate end being the establishment of a Hindu empire and to swallow up the minority communities.

It is against this background one would normally view the four sectarian concept and the supposed flexibility of it. It is in fact not as flexible as it has been claimed to be. The division of caste into many sub-castes cannot claim to be an indication of flexibility. It is instead a sign of rigidity that this system resulted in the creation of society within a society, a room within a room. People began to assume a caste-bound

outlook and the vision of a larger society grew dim. A sense of affinity could never really grow in such conditions. It is not therefore on account of flexibility that a single caste broke itself into many castes and multiplied at a terribly fast rate.

I was therefore extremely sad when I read his views. My faith is in Man, irrespective of his religion.

If we look into the ancient history of India, we will find that only Aryans, Dravids and aborigines were the original inhabitants of this country. Aryans came to India from central part of Asian continent. They invaded this country thousand years ago and conquered its original inhabitants-dravidas, aryans and aborigines and made them slaves.

Shakas, Kushans, Pathans and Moghuls later invaded the country and conquered it. They ruled over this country for centuries. It seems that the invaders are now fighting amongst themselves. The original inhabitants are furious with all of them. Yet we say let us bury our old furies, and let us live united. Live and let live is the only desire. We want that instead of fighting with each other, we should stand united to stop further intruders to this country.

The present need is that every Indian should treat others as human beings. There should be respect, love and tolerance towards each other. But this can not be achieved through any of the prevalent religious concepts. What is needed is a creed.

The statement of the supreme commander of RSS, Mr Golwalkar cuts at the root of the unity, and is likely to create dissensions and will bring the disaster.

Golwalkar has called upon the non-Hindus to return to Hinduism. He says that these non-Hindus were originally Hindus. The reactionary forces seem to have concluded that by bringing all the people of the country in the same religion, they will be able to create a homogeneous society, and greater unity. However I feel that religion is not at all necessary in the making of a homogeneous society or national integrity. Among those caught for spying over this country, majority of them are Hindus and in that also, most of them belong to the upper sects.

It is also to presume that oneness of religion will bring greater unity in the country. The world wars broke out in

Europe which had only one religion. The untouchability in Hinduism, not to be found anywhere else in the world, has enslaved crores of people for generations. They were crushed under the feet as lowliest animals. Atrocities of all kinds were committed. The four sectarian concept disappointed Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar so much that he turned to Budhism and since Hinduism has turned away from humanism, he asked his followers to do so. He initiated the process of disintegration of the four sectarian concept of Hinduism, birth-bestowed caste system and delivered his followers from the scourge of untouchability.

He also laid the foundation of a homogeneous society. The people who have accepted the liberal reilgion like Budhism, are not likely to fall prey to the call to return to Hinduism. Supposing that they return, what will be their status in Hinduism? No one can assure them a respectable status, not even Guruji?

The country will never be on the road to progress unless casteless and classless social order is constructed. If Golwalkar wants non-Hindus to return to Hinduism, will be able to construct a classless and casteless society?

He will not have success in misleading the innocent common people with his quotations from ancient religious books. If he and other religious preachers try to terrify the people in the name of God they will not tolerate it. In past Golwalkar had used sectarian superiority complex to fill his books. In this special interview and in his subsequent clarifications he has given his poison stored for years in his mind. While the people are looking for the guidance from the leaders on steps required for integration of country, Mr Golwalkar comes out with birth-bestowed caste theories and reincarnations and several other things. There can hardly be anything more anti-national than what he has said. Every one should strongly condemn his utterances.

The brahmins have started raising their heads again in this country. The reactionary thoughts are being hatched. Without any hinderance. If these are allowed to grow unchecked, they will spread far and wide. Hitlerism will establish itself in the country. The dream of working class rule will be shattered to pieces.

We got the independence. It was a difficult task. Perhaps

more difficult task is to preserve it with integrity and unity. The kind of unity noticeable before independence is nowhere to be seen now.

The lack of integrity and unity has corrupted illiterates and educated equally. Those in power are corrupted too. It is for this reason Golwalkar can put forward his views without any hesitation. Guru Shankaracharya has also given free expression to his views, without any qualm of conscience. The people like him can set the entire society ablaze and to what use they are putting their power. It is necessary to evaluate our achievement before we take Golwalkar to task. We have created the reasons ourselves. We have slept far too long on the welfare of backward classes, and have tended to rely largely on a few wise people. We have self-interest before everything else. God, religion and supernaturalism are potent weapons which are often resorted to. But no organised effort has been made to bring about a change in the conditions in which these weapons lose their strength. This is what is needed to save the country from running into chaos. And it is also necessary to stand united against these views on the ideological levels.

Golwalkar says that *Shruti-Smriti* are divine creations. The four-sectarian concept of social order is also divine creation. Even if it is dismantled it would rise again and re-establish itself, because it is the will of God. People for long believed in this theory because they blindly believe in God. This theory's propagator was also made God.

The religious leaders have always exploited the people through this concept for their own interests and benefits. The king was made an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. And thus he was made a full partner in the exploitation. He was asked to defend the properties earned by Brahmins through exploitation. He was also to implement the rules and regulations made by them. The four sectarian concept of society was required for it. This is how the God was brought in.

The sectarian concept is claimed to be based on cooperation. The *Brahmins* should act as agents of God. *Kshatriyas* should provide defence to the Brahmins. The *Vaishyas* should provide money to Brahmins. And *Sudras* should be slaves at the beck and call of Brahmins. They should labour for them

without payment. But what was the return provided for them for eternal enslavement?

They were told by God *Manu* to make their homes on the outskirts of the township. Brahmins should never use the utensils in which Sudras eat. They should never be given eatables directly by Brahmins. The servants should give the food in separate utensils. They should wear the clothes left over by the dead people, wear iron ornaments. Dogs and donkeys were their wealth. They were asked not to enter in the township during night hours. This was the sectarian society. These were the ways and areas of cooperation in a social order aiming at the welfare of the nation.

The dialogue between Vashistha and Vishwamitra as narrated in *Valmiki Vijay* should be studied by the educated people. This was sought to be implemented during the Peshwa period. Vashistha was advising Vishwamitra to give up his zealous efforts to educate people. He says, "you give up your efforts to educate people. If they are educated, they will grow out of controls. Our establishments will be destroyed."

Vishwamitra says, "I am afraid the people may learn many things even by looking at stars in night. It is better to open the doors of knowledge to them by giving them what we have."

Vashistha rebukes Vishwamitra, "Do not be afraid of stars guiding the people to knowledge. I have studied the problem. Let us give each one of them a god's name and inter weave them in the prayers. The people will be always busy in prayers and of this I am certain. You need not be afraid of it and should insist on educating them."

If the people are kept illiterate for ever, there will never be any challenge to their superiority. Nor will there be questioning to their being exploited so inhumanly. This was the game.

Golwalkar says, "that to take the quality (gun) meaning as merits of fitness and that *karma* or actions meaning as profession of choice according to likes is not correct. Quality means *satwa*, knowledge *raj* activity and *tam* inertia. Actions mean the deeds of the past incarnations.

In other words, a lower class person—a butcher—may be Brahmin or Sudra may be king in the next incarnation. But

he will remain so in the present. He should die rolling, perhaps he may be king after his death. He may also go to heaven. Richer will not be admitted there.

It looks as if the Gods are hand-maids of Golwalkar and Shankaracharya. Mr Dutta Bal is reincarnation propagator, and miracle expert is now Golwalkar of Maratha caste. The former created suitable grounds for sowing Golwalkar's theories in Kolhapur. What is surprising is that the newspapers which claim to be truthseekers, also abetted his designs. And more unfortunate and regrettable is that even ministers and officials are abetting the enemies of democracy by involving themselves in such religious adventure.

The following extracts are from the article by Dr P.G. Sahastrabuddhe, the author of "Hindu Samaj Sanghathana and Vighatana", published in a magazine "*Vasant*" of February 1969 under the title "Descent of Hinduism." In this article, Dr Sahastrabuddhe has dwelt on the views expressed by Shankaracharya in "*Kalyan*" and also those expressed by Mr Golwalkar in his interview to *Nawakal*.

The Peethas, religious thrones, have turned their back to the real religious works. They are running after the power, glitter and pomp. The feuds of Peethas have reached to the doors of privy councils and the supreme courts. Like political parties, they have also begun trading more and more in the wealth and power which have caused setback to this country.

There is no evidence recorded to indicate that Shankaracharyas had done any work for upliftment of society during past thousand years. Nor we find any religious leader or Saint having undertaken the work of strengthening notionality, national unity and integrity. Excepting Saints like Samaratha, most of them were passive and were dying thousand times in shame of having been born. They were aspiring for *moksha* at the earliest.

It is not true that the *Smriti and Shruti* are divine creations. Most of the writers of these books have been traced out in the history. The periods of those books also have been identified. So also is the case of *Shruti* The authors of *Suktas*, parts of *vedas* which form *Shruti* have also been traced. Many of them are Kshatriya, Sudra or women. *Shruti and Smirti* are said to be divine creations, because the

cardinal principles enshrined in those books are taken as a creed. What is necessary is that they should be advantageous and compatible for all times. But it is difficult to accept them on that score. Because many principles of Shruti and Smriti are contrary to each other and contradictory. For example, many have strongly opposed Niyog, while Narad has accepted it. Many do not recognise widow remarriage while Narad has consented to it. Many totally disapprove gambling while Narad treats it as revenue source for Government.

The contention that Shruti and Smriti are divine creation is untenable. It is absurd to contend that the four-sectarian concept in Shruti is created by the God. The sectarian concept did not exist at the beginning. It came into practice and entered into belief as a result of qualitative actions of men. It is often stated in Mahabharat and Puran and also Upnishadas. Brihadaranyakoparishad and Bhagwat have also reiterated it. Mahabharat has described the process of formation of four sects out of one sect.

Many have often said that the caste of sect is decided as a result of qualitative actions and not because of birth. If any Surdra has a fine nature and worthy profession, he is superior even to Brahmin (maha anu, 143.) Daksha, Vridhaharitt, Buddhayan and atari have clearly stated that sects are determined the deeds. Action-*Karma* does not mean the deeds of last incarnation, as Guruji claims. But the karma means profession or trade, good and bad deeds in this life. Guruji has a right to draw any meaning and interpret the way he may want to. But he should not persist in saying that these books are divine creations.

Guruji has reiterated more than once that sectarian classification of castes should be based on birth, and it should be flexible, as it was in the past. However, he has not clarified what he means by the word flexible. He also wants that the people should continue their professions or jobs as determined by their birth, birth without expectation of any fruits for their work.

Mr Sahastrabuddhe says that the views of Guruji are confusing and self-contradictory. If flexibility means full freedom to pursue any profession one may like and want,

what is the novelty about it ? It is prevailing in every country. What is particular about it in India or help of God ?

Mr Sahastrabuddhe has questioned the validity of birth-bestowed caste system in relation to history and in the light of reasons. It was divine : how did it happen that Hindus were repeatedly defeated by the Moghuls and then Britishers ? Why Ksahatriyas like Raja Mansingh and Jaichand withdrew their support to Hindu rulers and joined hands with Muslims ? Why Brahmins failed to create a national conscience in the country ?

It was all because of the inequality that existed in the social order and was firmly established. There is no basis to the contention of Guruji that there was equality between four sects in ancient periods. Is the exaggerated praise of Brahmins or the exaggerated condemnation of Sudras an indication of the equality ? Sudras have no religion and right to education or wealth. In every matter three sects have separate justice from that of the *sudras*. What does it indicate ?

Fortunately there was at one time a trend which allowed every sect to adopt the profession according to merits. It was only for this reason, the society developed and brought the prosperity and reputation to India in those times. But soon, this generosity, justice and feelings for society began diminishing. The waning of this brought more restrictions, more punishments, an increased intolerance and arrogance in classes to treat every sect as lower than their own.

Guruji says that there are four sects in everything, What does he mean by it ?

No religious authority will ever agree that the four sectarian concepts exist in everything merely because there are four kinds in those things. It is idle to conclude that existence of four kinds mean a four-sectarian concept. If that logic is taken, it should be said that the four Shankaracharyas peethas are also in conformity with four sectarian concept. Who is Brahmin and who is sudra among them? Mahabharat and Puran say that Vashishtha, Vyas, Astik, Puru, Yadu and Pandavas—the great giants of ancient times were born as a result of intercaste breedings. Should this inter-caste system be welcomed or rejected ?

My views here are not for convincing Shri Shankaracharya

or Shri Golwalkar. It is beyond me to try such a thing. They are two high-placed religions and I am a layman to them. It is beyond the authority and scope of anyone to convince them. Only the divine commandment can do so. But I am not very hopeful of such a happening.

They have stated their views for the society so also I have done. I have written this for the people and youth to study it.

They should always remember that nothing in this world is created by the God as Guruji and Shankaracharya evidently claim. Neither the books nor the social orders are created by the God. The world goes on without caring for what is written in the *Smiriti*.

If God had created it. He should have done it in every world and in every country. There was no special reason for Him to do it only in India. Therefore, it is obvious that the books, social orders, sectarian concepts, racial discriminations, untouchability are created by the humans only. If one contention in rejected, other contentions inevitably cancel themselves out.

The views of these two great religious leaders were not accepted by ancient saints, by history, by reasons and logics. It is for the people to decide whether to accept or reject them.

AN OLD FACIST PHILOSOPHY

Umakant Mokashi

THE views expressed by Shri Golwalkar, chief architect of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, in an interview with *Nawakal*, a Marathi daily of Bombay, have made the most shocking revelation. From all that Shri Golwalkar said it is evident that an old fascist philosophy is in the making and that school-going children are being trained in it. It is good to know of such development before it spreads far and wide and is firmly established in young minds. The editor of *Nawakal* has rendered a distinct service to the country in having sounded the bell of tocsin that such forces are at work and that a deliberate attempt is afoot to throw to the winds the constitutional directive on equality.

In villages and towns one finds school boys gathering at

playgrounds in the evering. They hoist the saffron-coloured RSS flag and take some exercises. This is how they are brought together under a flag and are disciplined for group action and group thinking. They are told and they themselves believe that politics is not their business and that is how they make themselves look innocuous to the people. They believe that India is a Hindu nation and that Hinduism should prevail and that man must ultimately be known by his religion and not by deeds.

To the common man many of the secret lessons that the RSS volunteers regularly receive are unknown, and he is amazed by the grand rallies on Dussehra Day. But his suspicion begins to lurk when he finds them taking an active role in every communal riot or in anti-communist hooliganism. Like Hitler who used his 'hate campaign' against the Jews, the RSS is feverishly busy in a 'hate Muslim' compaign. Like Hitler the RSS is also set against communism with all the strength it has.

Against this background, Shri Golwalkar's exposition of the philosophy of the RSS movement has to be seen and for those in the RSS who have nurtured pride in their Hinduism there is ample scope for seriously thinking about what they are heading for : are they trying to turn the wheels of time backward ?

Time is different and so is tide, which is now stronger than before. The fetishes that grew around religion are now unable to keep people of the same religion together. People are engaged in the hard task of eking out a living, a decent living and in this all are equals, irrespective of their caste, creed or religion. A decent living makes it possible to think about the larger interest of the society and thus paves the way to think about God decently. Religion today is not so much a unifying force as the economic interests. People of working class unite more spontaneously to prevent their exploitation by others than to serve the cause of religion through the observance of some religious beliefs of dubious value.

"Act, act in the living present, heart within and God overhead." The work is now worship and this is gradually becoming the widely acceptable method of worship. The place of work is now said to be the temple where all men go for worship through work.

This constitutes a remarkable change in the concept of religion. Guruji seems to have shut his eyes and ears to this change. Instead, he is harping on the age-old system which has kept people far apart from each other.

But the people will not take to it. They have rejected the four *varna* system because it was incompatible with the present social aspirations. The final truth is Man and the religious efforts are today oriented to bring about his welfare. There is no greater truth than Man, and that all men are born equal.

These ideas are now fairly well established in the minds of the people. They will not divorce themselves of these ideas which have opened a window of hope to those who have long been oppressed for having been born in a low caste.

Guruji is making effort in the wrong direction. Why does not he take to worship, which incidentally is his field, leaving alone the world and its people to take care of themselves. They will do much better.

EPILOGUE

THE views expressed by Shri Golwalkar have sparked off an acrimonious public debate in Maharashtra. The debate has drawn leaders from different fields who have spared no words to give expression to their resentment against the views. What started as debate has now turned into an agitation against Shri Golwalkar in particular and the RSS in general.

The avalanche of protests has started with the severe shock that the said views have administered to the effort of establishing values of equality in the present society. To the promotion of these values the people and the Government are committed. Golwalkar's concept of building Hindu *raj* based on the hatred for Muslims could not, therefore, awaken any heart. Instead, it has caused widespread resentment among the people, not so much for the banality of the concept but for an attempt to perpetuate inequality of a kind and degree that can nowhere be found to exist and that people are determined to weed out.

All the parties and their leaders have loudly protested against the propagation of these views. Their resentment has solid basis in the history and there have been numerous instances of war breaking out on religious issues. But the religions, even if they are sharply different, do not encourage a state of perpetual conflict with each other. It is always the people who feel so deeply involved with the cause that they believe religion to

be much above the man, and that is the single greatest thing on earth that man needs to know and abide by.

Guruji has sought to establish some similarity between Hitler's call of pure Aryan race and his own call for integration, and has added that there is much to learn from Hitler's efforts. Hitler attempted to put his ideas through genocide of Jews, while Guruji is calling upon non-Hindus to return to Hinduism. What does he mean by learning from Hitler ? Does he mean taking up mass killing ?

Germany was on the threshold of socialism when Hitler set the youth and the people of his country against the Jews whom he held responsible for every malady of the country. He thus unleashed the reactionary forces against the progressives of the country. To save the capitalism he did not hesitate to jump into the second World War. Krupps, the largest manufacturers of arms and military hardwares were not without reason behind Hitler's policy right from the start. The philosophy of Galwalkar is tending to move in the same direction. His intentions are the same as those of his supporters belonging to the class of exploiters.

It is quite essential to remember the particular characteristics of Hindu religion. Unlike other religions, Hinduism does not have a book like the Christians' *Bible* or the Muslims' *Quran*. Hindus do not have a single such sacred book, nor there is a universally acceptable definition of Hinduism.

Another peculiarity of Hinduism is that it is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the relations between God and mankind. All *Vedas* narrate this relationship. But at the time of the formation of the Vedic Samaj, no thought is given to this relationship. We have no quarrel with the spiritual aspect of it. If there is God, let there be God and also those who believe that there is God.

However, the second part of Hinduism is different. It dealt with the social order which was undergoing changes. The four sectarian concept was prescribed under certain conditions. It might have been useful for that period under certain conditions but it became not only stagnant but was unable to accommodate the changing aspirations of the people for progress.

A doubt began to brew up in the minds of people about the usefulness of a system which does no one good.

The four sectarian concept created upper and lower classes or sects in the society. The upper sects had wanted to retain the old order of the society because of the special power and privileges they enjoyed.

In the beginning there was only one sect or *varna*, it branched out three others on the basis of their functions in the society, *Sudra*, lowest of all, to be the slave of all other three sects. The four sectarian concept has become a dead wood today.

The concept grew out of certain functions that each sect was allotted to perform, and came to be known by the function it performed. There was thus a division of labour which was useful during that period. But later it became frozen into a pattern which no one conformed to. Even as a division of labour it was too broad to be meaningful : castes and sub-castes were also created. Of the sects, two upper sects, Brahmins and Kshatriyas (warriors) were living on the labour of other two classes and also held the political and economic power in their hands. This made slaves of the *vaishya, sudra* and women and created a feudal society.

Change in this order came from time to time as a result of economic and political crises, famines and slave marriages between different castes. During the period of transition from one order to another, the *varna, varga* or physical relationship between different categories were also reshuffled. This transition was known as *Manvantar* or, as some call it, evolution : For example, change from *Dwapar Yug* to *Kal Yug*. The atrocious form of changes was thoroughly exposed during the *Mahabharat* war. The new ideological concept or new social order was propagated in the *Bhagvat Geeta*. We can feel an air of rebellion against the age-old denial of right of freedom to women, *vaishya* and *shudras*, in the *Bhagvat Geeta*. Krishna has recognised the new aspirations or new demands of three sects through his classic *Bhagvat Geeta*.

He says women, *vaishyas* and *sudras* would also be entitled to *Moksha*—ultimate deliverance. He has used sanskrit word *Api* in his famous *shloka* for meaning "Also." When he says that they would also be entitled, it is clear that they were not

having the right. But *Geeta* recognised their rights. There is also another change in the meaning of qualitative actions (*Gun karmasha*). *Geeta* says that *Gun* means merits and *Karma* means the profession selected according to one's own liking.

One can easily understand the change in social orders at different times, if one takes a full view of the gamut of changes that have occurred in the religious outlook of the Hindus. The meaning of each *Shloka* of *Geeta* will have to be taken in its totality. One *Shloka* is not exclusive of the other.

Why did Krishna advise Arjun to go to war against his near relations? Arjun was hesitant because his conscience did not allow him to go against the established values of the religion. Shri Krishna narrated *Geeta* to inculcate a new faith in him for the battle. In other words, waging a war was considered to be more a duty in this case than preventing it. This was necessary for establishing new social order under new set of conditions and circumstances.

We have no quarrel with that part of the Hindu religion, called *Vedas* which defines the relationship between God and mankind. Because it is not that one which determines social relationship. The relationship between God and his creations may be as many as one wishes. But we must say that what is stated in the *Vedas* after *Rigveda* is nothing but primitive communism. In fact, the *Vedas* are the precursors of Communism in the world. In those times labour was collective and so also were the rewards for it. Is Guruji prepared to accept that primitive Communism propagated in the *Vedas ?* Vishnu was the first to challenge the collective labour and collective fruits, as stated in *Krishna Yajurveda* in tritiya part, volume V-1.

The Gods along with Vishnu have undertaken a yagna *sutra* (oldest and elementary from of *Yagna*). All of them were collectively involved in their sacrifices and were entitled to fruits of their sacrifices. But Vishnu refused to share the fruits with others. He said that it belonged to him and he would not share it with others. Vishnu had bow and arrow in his hands, hence other Gods fled away. They were considering their problem when a moth came there. They asked it to cut the string of Vishnu's bow. Vishnu was sitting with his

chin resting on one end of the bow string and as soon as the moth cut the stich, the string of the bow sprang up and cut off Vishnu's head.

Vishnu was thus the first to attempt to bag the collective reward as his own. The tendency of appropriating what rightly belongs to others is conspicuously present among capitalists who take away a large part of the labourers in factory produced with their collective efforts.

The Brahmins and Kshatriyas who derived political and economic powers from the sectarian concept were not prepared to let it slip away from their hands. They labelled it as birth-bestowed caste and eternal and elemental creation. Even now they are not prepared to give up those labels. This is where the Nemesis caught up with Hinduism. If Sanghwallas try to create Hindu empire based on this crest-fallen outdated religious belief, it will certainly bring disaster for all of us. It is totally a misfit for this new era of technology and production.

Golwalkar proposes a simple conversion ceremony for turning untouchables into touchable. He argues that with a view to removing the psychological hesitation, this ceremony will be necessary. Where purification or conversion is most needed and has always been avoided, is in the minds of those in the upper caste. The untouchability is on the descent. It will go, it will have to go, Golwalkar or Shankaracharya notwithstanding. In the emerging social and economic order this is incompatible and detestable. The means of production has changed. Machines have taken place of old traditional methods. There are thousands of workers in the Bata Shoe Company. They belong to different castes, including many Brahmins, all of them engaged in making shoes. Will any one call them "shoemakers"? or, will any one believe such a statement? The compulsion of economic activity for making a living has broken the barriers of castes. The Brahmins, Marathas and Mahars work together with a view to making a living which is the most important function. The machines have merged all the earlier classes and castes and have created two new classes : rich and the poor. The countinuous conflict between the two is the most important social phenomen of today. Our tomorrow will necessarily be determined by who wins in today's conflict.